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descriptive of the Pilgrim's entertainment in the Palace Beautiful, which was thus: 'The Pilgrim they laid in a large upper chamber, whose window opened towards the sun-rising; the name of the chamber was Peace; where he slept till break of day, and then he awoke and sang.'—A great and thoughtful Poet, who 'loves the flower as his own child, and sees a beauty in the ragged bur,' has written a poem, with this sentence as its motto, which he has entitled 'Day-break,' and which closes with the following stanza.*

How suddenly that straight and glittering shaft
 Shot 'thwart the Earth!—In crown of living fire
 Up comes the Day!—As if they, conscious, quaffed
 The sunny flood, hill, forest, city, spire,
 Laugh in the wakening light.—Go, vain Desire!
 The dusky lights have gone; go thou thy way!
 And, pining Discontent, like them, expire!
 Be called my chamber, PEACE, when ends the day;
 And let me with the dawn, like PILGRIM, sing and pray!

ART. VIII.—*Thatcher's Indian Biography.*

Indian Biography. By B. B. THATCHER, Esq. New York. J. & J. Harper. 1832.

This is a very interesting chapter in the history of man; and no one will read this work, without acknowledging that the subject has fallen into the right hands. There is much to awaken interest and sympathy in the character of this unfortunate race, who, with manners and habits essentially savage, exhibited some traits of refined and elevated feeling, and who, when brought into direct contrast with cultivated men, were, in some respects, able to put civilization to shame. For such a people, once great and powerful, to pass away from the soil possessed by them and their fathers; for those, who once made others tremble, to dwindle away to weak and helpless remnants, scattered here and there upon the face of a country, changed in such a manner, as to make their destruction sure, and whose only trust is in the protection of persons, who feel most interested to oppress them, is a destiny well calculated to excite the compassion of those, whose benevolence is not limited to family or nation, but comprehends alike the Samar-

* See the poem extracted entire, N. A. Review. Vol. XXXIII. p. 305.

itan and the Jew. But to carry this feeling so far, as to express regret that civilization has extended ; to maintain, that it would have been better that the country should still be a hunting ground, instead of being divided into cities and villages ; to speak, as if the accidental vices of civilized life are so many and great, that barbarism would be better, is carrying this sympathy much farther than good sense and reason would be disposed to go. Wherever civilization comes in conflict with barbarism, we mean, with a race which has no active principle of improvement within it, it is the order of nature that barbarism shall give way ; the savage either ceases to be a savage, or retreats before the rising flood ; justice and humanity do not require the civilized to conform to his habits, nor to abandon the country ; for in that case, no room on earth would ever have been found for cultivated man. But justice and humanity do require, that the rights of the weaker party shall be respected, that no advantage shall be taken of superior strength to injure nor oppress them ; that avenues shall be opened, by which they may enter into the privileges of civilization if they will ; and that civilization shall be recommended to them in every possible way, instead of being associated in their minds with violence and wrongs. We do not hold our fathers responsible for the extinction of the Indian race, for we see not how it could have been prevented ; but we fear that there were instances, in which they violated the laws of justice and humanity in their dealings with their neighbors, and if so, the other party should not labor under perpetual reproach for the sake of vindicating their reputation. There is enough in their character of which their descendants may reasonably be proud, and if they deserve blame in this instance, let them bear it ; but let the cases of oppression charged upon them be investigated, for sympathy in such cases is poorly qualified to act the judicial part ; it takes too much for granted, and trusts as readily to feeling, as to evidence and examination. Mr. Thatcher has touched these cases with a delicate and discriminating hand ; in a popular narrative, he could not enter into the subject very largely ; we would suggest to his consideration, whether a work of permanent value as an authority is not required. The separate sketches of tribes and individuals, which he has given, might easily be woven into a philosophical history, and it would give us pleasure to see it done by one so industrious and impartial, who has the talent withal of giving it so much attraction.

We do not by any means admit, that the Indians met with such treatment from our fathers as they have met with in later times, in a case already too well known to the world, and justified only by those who are blinded by local interest and party passion. Our fathers meant to do them substantial justice, and if they failed, it was owing to jealousy and suspicion ; it was not because they coveted their lands and were willing to descend to base means to possess them. When such cases are represented as in all respects the same, and attempts are made to involve the pilgrims in such a condemnation, it is time to repel the charge and to show their injustice if they were guilty of any thing mean, avaricious and grasping ; to show also, that if their jealousy of the Indians made them unjust to them, they stood in a relation to them in which no people can ever stand again. Much may be forgiven to their feeling of weakness ; they did not presume upon their power.

In the first place, they held the Indians in fear,—a passion, which always leads to the borders at least of inhumanity. Cruelty arises more directly from this feeling than from any other. Those who live in security may not be able to conceive it, but it is the fact nevertheless, that the feeling of revenge is always strong in proportion to the fears ; and when the same alarm, which unsexes the tender and delicate woman, and petrifies the colder heart of man, grows into a panic, and spreads throughout a community, the effect is like that of a demoniacal possession. This was powerfully illustrated in the case of witchcraft ; the universal fear, heightened by the mysteriousness of the danger, could not be quenched without blood ; and even within the last year, we have seen the fear of a pestilential disease lead to acts of gross and enormous inhumanity, which, but the day before, would have been pronounced impossible in the present age of the world. There can be no doubt, that the first settlers of the country regarded the Indians with great and constant dread ; not that they feared acts of personal violence from individuals ; these, they felt themselves able to resist and put down ; but when they looked upon the tribes about them, whose numbers and bounds they could not possibly know ; when they saw their energy, cunning, fierceness, and jealous impatience of wrongs ; when they saw the stern reserve of many of the chiefs, and felt how easy it would be to unite all in the common cause of expelling the stranger, they evidently dreaded their rising in the greatness of their strength ; they felt like men, embarked in slight vessels on the ocean, who

fear nothing in the sunshine, but tremble at the most distant breathings of the storm. This distinction is not made, as it should be, between immediate and foreboding fears ; and because the Indians were regarded with indifference, like every thing familiar, even familiar dangers, it is often supposed that our fathers felt perfectly secure against them ; but if they did not regard the danger as pressing, they feared that it might at any time come, and when they thought it actually on the way, they had only the resource of desperation, which was to anticipate the blow. It was necessary for them to be on their guard, and they were perhaps needlessly jealous. It was natural that their suspicion should be over-active, rather than suffered to sleep. As they knew themselves unable to resist a combined assault of all the tribes, or even the determined hostility of one, they could only ward off the stroke, by attempting to disable the uplifted arm. If they sometimes suspected without cause, and acted with excessive rigor, it was evidently no more than was natural in the position in which they stood. But we do not believe that, in any part of our country at present, the Indians are held in similar dread ; they know perfectly well, that an act of violence on their part is suicide to themselves ; when therefore the fear of the Indians is pleaded as an excuse for violence at the present day, we see manifest and sufficient reason, for not allowing it to shelter itself under the example of our fathers.

Another circumstance, which goes far to justify their conduct where it needs justification, is their religious feeling. They could do no more than follow the injunctions of the Scripture, which they regarded as binding on themselves ; and we cannot censure them severely for mistaking its commands, if all the rest of the world was in similar delusion. For the same reason, we cannot charge them with intolerance, if it appears that toleration was hardly known or practised in the world at the time ; because there is no reason why we should expect to find them exempt from such prejudices, as enslaved the minds of others. It may be asked, if others being bad made them better ; certainly it did ; for excellence is a comparative thing, and it makes an essential difference, whether we compare them with the standard of their own time, or with that of an age when the Scripture is better interpreted, and moral obligations better understood. They believed, that they saw in the Scriptures a history very nearly resembling their own ; they believed that the Hebrews were commanded to exterminate the

inhabitants of the promised land ; and so far from its being a crime to pursue that purpose with unrelenting rigor, the warrior was doing God service who destroyed and tortured that devoted people. Without making any distinction between the Hebrew religion and the Hebrew nation ; without observing whether Moses spoke in that instance as a statesman, or as a teacher of divine truth ; without asking whether the conduct of the Israelites fairly represented the spirit of their sacred law, they at once adopted that people as their example, and felt safe in imitating their actions both in peace and war. Now, we see that many enlightened persons at the present day identify the Hebrew practice with their religion, and taking it for granted that their religion sanctioned all that they did, make this assumption an argument against the divine origin of their religion ; if this is done now, by those who consider themselves free from prejudice, what wonder is it, that the same impression should have prevailed two centuries ago, in those who were looking into the Scripture to ascertain what to do, in a situation so new and difficult as that into which our fathers were thrown. We, no doubt, are able to discover that the Hebrews sometimes acted under the impulse of passion, believing it to be the inspiration of the Almighty, as Christians have often done ; but why should they be expected to discern this fact, at a time when it was hidden from all the rest of the world ? But we would not give the impression that they copied this example to the letter ; it was only in times of violent excitement, that they resorted to harsh measures. Indeed, we do not know where any other men, placed in similar circumstances, have conducted themselves with more forbearance and mercy ; assuredly it was not in Mexico nor South America ; and if it be said, that William Penn acted on wiser and more benevolent principles, it must be remembered that his experiment was not made till half a century after theirs, and moreover, his colony was from the beginning prosperous and strong.

Again, it must not be forgotten, that the Indians were a savage people. Though we, from observing the whole course of their history, arrive at the conclusion that they were in some respects a generous and high-minded race, distinguished by respect for age, by kindness to the unfortunate, and hospitality to all, these virtues are such as are almost always found in the uncivilized state,—a state with which it is extremely difficult for civilization, however well disposed, to live on friendly terms. Their virtues also were generally of the war-

like kind ; such as made them formidable not only as enemies, but as friends ; and their strongest advocates will not deny, that they had at times a taste for cruelty and torture, which could not be otherwise than disgusting to those who might possibly become subjects of their skill. The Indian character, which has been so often recommended to poetical imaginations as a subject of art, affords but few varieties of expression and feeling ;—it is like the ocean, which has been thoroughly seen by those who have seen it in the tempest and the calm,—it is doubtless a fine subject of contemplation, but when the poet said, that it was sweet to behold it, we imagine that he would excuse those from enjoying it, who were within the reach of its waves. This was the case with our fathers. The Indian character, however remarkable and striking it might have been to a distant observer, was too near and threatening for them to regard it with much delight. Their writers said, and no doubt believed, that the land was covered with wild inhabitants, in whom 'the prince of the power of the air' did work as a spirit. Satan took the alarm when he saw churches growing up in New England ; and believing the movement to be directly contrary to his interests, stirred up the minds of the savages to bloody and violent actions. Considering the Indians as his subjects, and as wholly under his influence, for there is no reason to doubt that the language of superstition was sincere, it is not at all surprising that the colonists should have regarded them with dislike and dread. The country was perpetually ringing with stories of their 'devil worship,' and of the tortures which they practised upon prisoners who fell into their hands ; and these narratives, which we read so coolly as legendary tales, when they were thought of as things which had happened near them, and might soon happen again, inspired the deepest horror and aversion in the hearers of that day. We cannot wonder that our fathers should have feared and disliked their neighbors : this, it is true, is no excuse for treating them ill ; but it may show why their suspicion was constantly awake, and why the severe reality of the Indian character, always near and always threatening, should have made them insensible to the savage virtues, and destroyed their relish for all Arcadian imaginations of the beauty and simplicity of the state of nature.

One trait in the Indian character, which was made important by the situation of the two parties with respect to each other, was a haughty impatience of superiority. Even when

they made concessions to the English, they carefully reserved their own independence of action. This is oddly illustrated by one article of a treaty, in which the colonists required them to abstain from labor on the sabbath ; they expressed their willingness to assent to the arrangement, inasmuch 'as they had not much to do on any day.' There seems to have been no good reason why, with 'their foot on their native soil,' they should have looked up to others, or suffered others to look down on them ; least of all could they have dreamed of accepting protection from the colonists, who seemed indebted to their kindness for a home, and to their forbearance for life. On the other hand, it was impossible for the English, exalted above them in intellectual improvement, and knowledge of all those arts and appliances which form the elements of power, to forbear using the language and manner of condescension, which are sufficiently expressive to all, and peculiarly so to Indians, who cannot endure the least approach to contempt. Here was a fertile cause of unpleasant feeling, even without blame on either part. But the colonists increased the danger, by taking it for granted that the Indians acknowledged the sovereignty of the English king ; one of those refinements in civil relations which they certainly could not understand, and which, had they understood it, would have been rejected with scorn. And in all their intercourse with the Indians they assumed a superiority, which must have had its effect in widening the separation caused by such collisions of individuals, as were constantly taking place, and could not possibly have been prevented. The high feeling of the other party is strikingly manifested by their willingness to give away their lands, but not to sell them. Massasoit the Wampanoag Sachem, in whose dominions the colonists of Plymouth established themselves, made his liberal grant to them without price or reward.

We will not however extend these suggestions ; it is not necessary. We have no desire to justify our fathers, where they have done wrong. We only wish that the delicacy of their position may be taken into the account, by those who are disposed to judge them ; and moreover, we desire to ask those who can extend no such forbearance to them, to show us what other set of men in a similar situation would have conducted themselves better ; what community there is, whose feeling would have been more liberal on the whole ; what government, from which the Indians would have received less op-

pression: and let them say what state or nation in modern times, with all the benefit of two centuries of improvement, would, if brought into similar contact, extend better treatment to that injured race. No one needs to be reminded of events, which make it evident that there is none. And then we assert, that if our fathers conducted themselves as well as any body of men in a similar situation ever has done, or could be reasonably expected to do, no charge lies against them which does not bear equally hard on human nature, on the whole race of civilized man. It is enough, if their moral feeling and action was pure and elevated, as that of any other set of men ever has been or is likely to be.

But we proceed to notice some of those instances, in which they dealt most severely with the Indians: this writer has stated them with great impartiality. He does not wish to vindicate our ancestors at the expense of truth and justice, nor does he let his sympathy for the weaker party make him insensible to what can be said in behalf of the other. He remembers that they judged from circumstances, which would be differently viewed by those who stood in different positions: there were many things in their situation to justify suspicion and even rigor, which can never occur again, and therefore cannot be pleaded in defence of acts of modern oppression.

Their most threatening conflict was with the Pequots, a warlike tribe residing within the bounds of Connecticut; they had waged war upon the Indians round them, subduing some and expelling others, till their name carried terror with it throughout the country. When the English came within their limits, and established themselves without leave asked or given, it was not unnatural that they should regard it as an intrusion; with how much reason, we can better understand, perhaps, if we imagine colonists from another country pitching their tents in like manner among ourselves. It is no libel upon American hospitality to suggest, that they might possibly be looked upon with a jealous eye, at least by those who happened to be near them; nor should we much wonder if some of our States should declare them under their jurisdiction, or, in other words, claim a right to seize their lands and possessions, and without actually driving them out, only treat them in such a manner that they could not possibly stay. But, as we have said, this refined process was unknown to the Indian law; and it does not appear that they made any seri-

ous attempts to dislodge the colonists, though it was impossible to avoid occasional provocations.

The circumstance which interrupted this harmony, such as it was, appears to have been the murder of Capt. Stone, with his crew, on Connecticut River, in the summer of 1633. A detailed account is given of the proceedings of the Pequots on this occasion, but by whom furnished does not appear; the party interested left no survivor to tell their melancholy story, and the Pequots themselves gave a very different version of the affair. Sassacus, then chief, sent a deputation to the Governor of Massachusetts, desiring his friendship and alliance: he was told that before the English could treat with him, the murderers of Stone must be delivered up to justice. The envoys, without sending to their court for instructions, replied, that the small pox had destroyed all the murderers, so called, but two, who would doubtless be surrendered by Sassacus, if anything were proved against them. They alleged, that Stone had been guilty of most violent proceedings, and that, in the course of an affray which ensued, the vessel had been blown up, for what purpose they did not pretend to know. This account was given with such confidence, that, Governor Winthrop says, 'having no means of proving it false, we inclined to believe it.' This is exactly our case; in the absence of all direct evidence, the story of the Indians was at least as likely to be true, as the suggestions of suspicion; and it was confirmed moreover by what was known of the character of Stone, who, it appears, was before this banished from Massachusetts for piracy and other disgraceful crimes. Nor does it appear, that the suspicions of the colonists prevented their concluding a treaty on terms favorable to themselves. But in 1636, one Oldham, a trader, was murdered by a party of Block Island Indians, some of whom were said to have found a shelter in the Pequot country. Upon this, the Governor of Massachusetts sent a party to Block Island, with orders to seize the place, to put to death the men, and bring away the women and children; and after this object was effected, they were to proceed to the Pequots, and to demand the two murderers of Stone, together with one thousand fathom of wampum for damages. Since it does not appear that they had done any damage, it could hardly be expected that they would pay this enormous assessment; and certainly the whole proceeding was an insult, which so spirited a race could not be expected to bear. This enterprise was executed as much in the spirit of the Gospel, as it was

designed ; and after this, as might be supposed, there was no more friendly intercourse between the parties.

Dr. Dwight, who defends the colonists with great vigor, and others on the same side, give the same account of these matters, though with a different coloring. They maintain that the Pequots were inveterate in their hostility to the English ; it is true that there is no proof of this, but it was evidently the same impression which influenced our fathers. They may possibly have had evidence of the hostile dispositions of the tribe ; but this evidence has not been recorded, and we must confess that, so far as we can discover, the inveterate enmity was on the other side. It is not surprising, that after the last mentioned expedition, they should have resolved to exterminate the whites from the country if possible ; but up to that time their proceedings indicated, if not friendship, at least a disposition to avoid hostility with the English, and to derive advantage from them in the way of trade. It is painful, therefore, to read the account of the sanguinary war which followed ; the description of the storming of the Pequot fortress, when more than six hundred men, women, and children were shot down or perished in the flames ; the vessel, with its crew of victims on board, to be slain without the harbor ; the swamp, where the warriors cut their way through the English, leaving the more helpless, who were killed as they sat upon the ground, by putting the muzzles of the guns within a few yards of them ; the sending of the children to the Bermudas, or to other tribes, selected as most hostile to their fathers ;—these are passages in our history, which can only be justified by necessity ; and then, perhaps, it would hardly be safe to inquire, how and by whom this necessity was created. It is evident, that our fathers labored under the impression that there could be no security for themselves, so long as this warlike tribe existed : judging from the circumstances under which they had established themselves near the Pequots, and the well-known pride and fierceness of the race, one would say that this conclusion was just ; but at the same time, there are no acts or movements, on the part of the Indians, recorded, which strengthen it, or tend to prove that they would have been disposed to crush the settlements made within their bounds. As we can only judge from such evidence as remains in history, we must say that they appear to have been more sinned against than sinning : and yet there was probably no other **set**

of men, in that age, who, in the same circumstances, under the influence of the same apprehensions, would have acted differently from our fathers.

The next charge against them respects their treatment of Miantonomo, who, together with Canonicus, presided over the Narragansetts, one of the most powerful tribes in the country. Canonicus received Roger Williams, who was thrown upon his mercy, when driven from the Massachusetts and Plymouth jurisdictions ; it is true he received him reluctantly ; but this only increases the merit of his subsequent kindness and hospitality. They were not at first disposed to be friendly to the Plymouth colony, but afterwards their disposition changed, and they became important allies in the Pequot war. That war gave birth to a new power ; Uncas, Sachem of the Mohegans, a tribe which had been overshadowed by the Pequots, rose upon the downfall of that race ; and judging, probably from their fate, that it was for his interest to maintain frequent relations with the English, he made himself useful and important to them, caring little meantime on what terms he stood with the neighboring tribes. Uncas and Miantonomo were both of service to the colonists in their war with Sassacus ; and when it was ended, the two Sachems pledged themselves to be friends to each other. But they had too much of the feeling of rivals to continue at peace ; and it was not long before their jealousy found pretexts for breaking into open war. The result of this conflict was, that Miantonomo was taken prisoner by the Mohegans ; and Uncas, on applying to the commissioners of the United Colonies, then assembled at Hartford, was authorized, so far as their advice and consent would go, to put his prisoner to death.

It is easy to imagine the reasons which induced Uncas to leave the matter to their decision, though the question was sufficiently decided in the practice of the Indian law. He feared lest he might be called to account for proceeding in too summary a way, and thought that he might make the English the instruments of his revenge and ambition. But why they should have accepted the trust, is not so easily accounted for : if their desire had been simply to destroy Miantonomo, they might have left him in the hands of his rival, and thus have gained their point, without taking the responsibility. This would seem to have been the only proper course, unless they followed a more generous principle, and took the opportunity to teach the savage what Christianity required him

to do. It appears that before this time, when the difficulties between the Narragansetts and Mohegans were growing up, Miantonomo had applied to the colonists to obtain for him redress from Uncas, knowing that their suggestion would be a law to their ally. The Connecticut people answered him graciously, that they had nothing to do with the business. He then applied to Governor Winthrop, and was told, in answer to his inquiry whether the colonists would take offence at his proceeding to take redress for himself,—that if Uncas had wronged him, and would not give satisfaction, he might take his own way. It is remarkable, that when, owing probably to the arts of Uncas, he was strongly suspected, he came boldly to Boston, and demanded to be confronted with his accusers: he also offered to meet Uncas at any appointed place, and there to establish his own innocence and the guilt of his rival. When he did meet him in Hartford, he invited Uncas to sup with him, which the other declined; his whole bearing was that of a man, who knew that he was ~~injurious~~ suspiciously suspected, and was willing to make the English all the explanations in his power. There was something chivalrous in his feelings on these subjects. When he was in the custody of the Governor of Connecticut, he told that officer that the Narragansetts would make attempts for his rescue, and warned him to increase the guard; he also made a present to Uncas, for the kind treatment he had received during his imprisonment. It is painful to think that a high chief like this was compelled to die the death of a dog, and that the English made themselves responsible for his doom.

It is impossible to acquit these commissioners of blame in this transaction, but it does not readily appear what they were to gain by taking an active part. If they could not use their influence in favor of their ancient ally, and no one can doubt that their suggestion would have carried with it the force of a law, they had nothing to do, but to throw back the case upon Uncas's own decision, which no doubt would have served their own purposes of revenge, if they had any, and would have relieved them at once from all their fears. After their professions of neutrality, it was not decent for them to interfere as judges, in a case where they had the feelings of a party. But we can more easily understand how they should have deceived themselves with respect to the demands of justice, in a case where they felt bound to regard the laws and habits of Indian warfare, than how they could take advantage of the

opportunity, against their conscience, for their own purposes of selfish vengeance and to shed innocent blood. We look upon it as a case of self-delusion, in which they were blinded in a measure by their wishes and fears: and they were still farther misled, by a feeling, which betrays itself too often in their history, that the blood of an Indian was of little value. How easy it was for them to form this impression, appears from parallel cases in modern times, afforded by the wrongs of another injured race. Let any one read the proceedings of West Indian courts of justice, so called, and he will see how much less in value the life of an African is, than that of a man. We would not excuse such feelings: but it is but just to remember, that this was a prejudice from which no one was free. Mather says, that the colonists unanimously resolved that the Indians, that generation of vipers, should be exterminated from the country.

We are not surprised to find, in the course of the history, that Canonchet, the son of Miantonomo, who after many years succeeded his father, should have been an enemy to the English name. The tribe were bound, according to their wild notions of duty, to avenge the death of their chief; and it was with extreme difficulty, that the immediate successors of Miantonomo could restrain their men. The colonists imposed severe terms upon them, and they evaded and resisted them as well as they could without open war: but when Philip's coalitions began to agitate New England, the colonists determined to make the Narragansetts a terrible example. They charged them with sheltering some of Philip's subjects, who had taken refuge in the country, and with aiding the hostile Indians. It was evidently no crime to offer an asylum to the unfortunate, and it was not proved that they had assisted the enemy; but a strong force was sent against Canonchet, which defeated him in the well known 'swamp fight,' where, after a desperate resistance, several hundred warriors perished, beside old men, women, and children, who were burned in wigwams. The whole cause assigned for this energetic proceeding was, that they had not surrendered the hostile Indians; but since this could not be done without a violation of the laws of hospitality, they could not be expected to act with much energy in doing it, and would not have consented at all, except under the fear inspired by the presence of an English army.

From this time, Canonchet employed himself in making inroads upon the English villages, and kept the country in a state

of dread. At last he fell into the hands of his enemies, and was put to death. The historians of that day express the utmost bitterness towards this chief; but though it was natural enough that they should have been prejudiced against him, he appears to have been a fine specimen of savage greatness: high and honorable in feeling, decided in counsel, energetic in action. He was excited against the colonists by the memory of a thousand real or imaginary wrongs, a single one of which, the death of his father, was a sufficient excuse, had any been needed, for all his unfriendly designs and deeds.

The most important passage in our Indian history is the war with Philip, who was a most formidable enemy to the colonists, and is never mentioned in their journals without some expression of dislike and dread. His father, Massasoit, was a man of peace. Without possessing those warlike virtues, which savages are most apt to admire, he secured and exercised for years a commanding influence among the Indians. He was uniformly friendly to the whites, and they appear to have manifested good feeling to him, except on one or two occasions: in the case of Squanto, for example, an Indian who was valuable to the English as an interpreter, having acquired the language in a voyage with Master Hunt, who kidnapped several of his tribe. Squanto seems to have made greater advances in philology than in morals. He took occasion to slander Massasoit to the colonists, and that sachem required the Governor to surrender him to justice, which, as he was one of Massasoit's subjects, there was no pretext for refusing: in fact, the terms of their treaty required it; but as the English could not spare Squanto, the demand was evaded. Surely those who afterwards punished the Narragansetts so severely for refusing to deliver fugitives, should have remembered that they were sheltered both by authority and example. The historians say, that after this Massasoit seemed to frown upon them: they might think themselves very fortunate, if he contented himself with that sort of vengeance; their own was more searching and effectual.

This chief died at peace with the English, and his power descended to Alexander and Philip, his sons. Alexander lived on good terms with the English, till he was sent for to Plymouth, to answer to a charge against him of exciting the Narragansetts to war. What proof they had of his unfriendly exertions, or whether they had any, does not appear,

but no amount of testimony could have justified their proceedings. They sent a force to seize and bring him to Plymouth, as if he were amenable to their laws. He was taken, and ordered to proceed to the English settlement, on pain of death, if he refused to go. The insult was so gross, and he felt so keenly his want of power to take revenge, that the agitation threw him into a fever, of which he died. If the colonists could have imagined the Indians sending for their Governor in a similar manner, they might have understood the true character of their own proceeding better. They would assuredly have thought it sufficient cause for an exterminating war, and there were days in their history not long before, when the father of this prince held the destiny of the settlement in his hand.

It is but just to ask, what must have been the feeling of Philip, when he succeeded to the chieftainship of the tribe. He had seen his brother die of a broken heart, under the treatment of those, who had enjoyed the friendship of the family for years: he had seen the sovereignty degraded by their usurpation, for usurpation no doubt it was, in such a manner, that he must have felt himself disgraced had he submitted to it. Was it reasonable to suppose that he would repress all feelings of wounded pride and affection, and establish the sovereignty of the colonists over him, by neglecting to protest against it? Truly we should be glad to find one in a thousand of the pretexts for hostilities between civilized nations, half as well founded as the right which Philip had to resist invasion, and to redress his brother's wrongs. Since one such claim submitted to usually leads on to more and greater usurpations, he must have felt as if he were called upon to contend for the existence of his authority, and his people. He appears accordingly to have devised a plan, which, considering his means and powers, was really stupendous, for associating all the tribes in a coalition, which should rise, at once, on every side, against the English, and sweep them from the whole face of the country.

The consternation, into which the country was thrown when hostilities began, seems to have been a sort of retribution. For more than a year, the four colonies were constantly in arms; stories were every day received, of lives destroyed, and villages burned by the Indians; thirteen towns were ruined; six hundred dwelling houses burned, and almost every family involved in the wide and general mourning; the ex-

penses of the old colony alone, for military services and expeditions, amounted to the sum of one hundred thousand pounds. They gained, it is true, a season of peace by means of the desolation; but we cannot help thinking, that they might have secured the same quiet, without the preparation of war; and as for the removal of the Indians, time would have done it for them, without such wild waste of blood. The last act of this tragedy is not the least unpleasant to remember: the son of this brave and unfortunate sovereign was sold as a slave, and shipped to Bermuda;—an act of vengeance merely; for nothing could have been apprehended from him after the total destruction of his people.

Such are the principal acts of injustice to the Indians, which are charged upon our fathers. When it is said, in order to silence our remonstrances against the wrongs of this people, that our fathers did the same, the reply is, what then? We do not defend these things in our fathers, more than in any other men. Whoever has committed, or whoever may commit such acts of oppression, the character of the deeds is still the same. It is, however, evident that our fathers had excuses, which can never be offered for others. They lived in times of trouble and danger: their minds were constantly in a state of powerful excitement,—in a state, which made them easy subjects of alarm and any other strong passions; they were enslaved to certain prejudices also, which the growing light of the world has done away; and however it may appear to us, now we have seen the essential weakness of the Indian power, they doubtless thought that they were engaged in a struggle for life,—a struggle in which one must die.

It is needless for us to recommend this work, which is already in the hands of most of our readers, but we are desirous to bear our testimony in favor of the ability with which it is executed. The spirit of the writer is also worthy of all praise. He shows a ready sympathy for the unfortunate subjects of his description, but does not allow his sympathy to overstate their wrongs; in every case, he takes all possible care to state his facts correctly, which is no easy matter, considering what the authorities are, from which his materials are drawn. His series of biographical pictures has attracted the public attention to the subject, and were he to expand them hereafter into an Indian history, we have no doubt that it would meet with an honorable reception, and be appealed to as a work of lasting authority and value.